585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors 585 574 152 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] [291] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

ooo

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu [614] 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no [114] record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a [681] crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual [728] ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu [648] 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities [115] because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man [792] figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up [114] this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real [426] [423] property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

426 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he
686 refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so
627 that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill
623 his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they
627 have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association
621 of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends.
[613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is